9769 k Jones for T. T. Bart

THE

Dismisal

OF HIS

MAJESTY's MINISTERS,

CONSIDERED AS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO

Avert the Ruin of the Nation,

BY

T. JONES, ESQ.

IN HIS

CELEBRATED SPEECH

ON A MOTION FOR THAT PURPOSE IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1800,

WHEREIN HE ATTRIBUTES THE PRESENT

DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE PEOPLE,

TO THE

INCAPACITY OF MINISTERS.

&c. &c. &c.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Davenport, George's-court, for

J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, FLEET-STREET;

And No. 19, Ludgate Hill, oppoſite the Old Bailey.

Sold alſo by the BOOKSELLERS in Piccadilly and at the Royal Exchange.

(PRICE SIXPENCE.)

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

INTERESTING SPEECH

OF

THOMAS JONES, ESQ.

&c. &c.

MR. SPEAKER,

IN conſequence of the notice I gave ſome days ſince, I riſe to bring forward a motion on the preſent war. I do aſſure you, Sir, and this Houſe, that it is moſt irkſome and grievous to me to bring forward the propoſition which I ſhall offer this night to the Houſe for their conſideration. As to its acceptance or rejection, no perſonal motives guide me; meaſures, not men, are my object.—And, verily thinking that his Majeſty's preſent Councils have nearly brought this queſtion to death's door, my country, my conſtituents, and my God loudly call on me to do my duty in the moſt conſcientious and determined manner.

By the King's Speech from the Throne, on the opening of this Seſſion of Parliament (which muſt be ſo freſh in the recollection of every Hon. Member of this Houſe that I will not trouble them to have it read), and by the ſubſequent and repeated declarations of his Majeſty's Miniſters ſince, and peculiarly manifeſted in the rejection of a motion brought in by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan), as to a ſeparate peace not being adviſeable; how-

ever the Councils of Auſtria may be changed, it is evident that ideas of making a ſeparate peace (notwithſtanding our allies, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew, have ſo often done it to our coſt), have never entered into the heads of his Majeſty's Miniſters.

It ſeems to be the determination of Miniſters to purſue this endleſs conteſt, and to go on in laviſhing Britiſh blood, in ſpite of the calamities which have befallen us, in ſpite of the diſgraceful failures which have occurred, and in defiance of the famine which now threatens to deſolate the country. This war ſeems their *idol*, and they bow to their *idol*.—And, moreover, they have made the nation bow low *indeed*, and have ſacrificed to the bloody ſhrine of this their idol, millions of lives of their fellow-creatures, millions of Britiſh guineas, the fortunes of the middle ranks of men, and ſome of the deareſt intereſts of the empire.

Let me ſtop to obſerve on the deſtruction of the *middle order* of men. *Old France*, before the Revolution, had but two deſcriptions of people, the very higheſt and the very loweſt. God forbid that only two orders of men ſhould ever be found in Old England!

His Majeſty's Miniſters, Sir, tell you the reſources of the empire are not exhauſted. I hope and believe they tell the truth. God forbid they ſhould be! But why do they tell you ſo? Becauſe *they* ſuffer no dimunition of income. *Their* annual income ariſes in great part from the public purſe, and, in many caſes, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſeth with the diſtreſſes of individuals and the general impoveriſhment of the empire. Here I muſt obſerve, I do uot think many of his Majeſty's Miniſters over-paid; they earn their ſalaries by their induſtry and attention at leaſt (however ineffectual)

to

to their duty; but no man ought to have the ſalary of ten, which in three or four inſtances is the caſe, and in one particularly, (Lord Buckingham's ſalary, as one of the Tellers of the Exchequer,) which increaſeth with the war, and an account of the increaſe of which was laid on the table of this Houſe on the motion of an Hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Tierney), and proves the increaſe from 3,500l. to 17,000l. per annum! I mean no perſonality, there are two or three others equally enormous and noticeable.

In the firſt place, Sir, I object to the continuance of this war, inaſmuch as it tends to produce the preſent ſcarcity, the dearneſs of all the articles of life, and the *famine* itſelf.* The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) has ſaid, that, in his idea, it does not *produce any material* ſcarcity.—Sir, I muſt differ much on this point, and think it a primary cauſe, no doubt, as to an inland war, and I think I can prove it to be ſo. Why, Sir, when you recollect the enormous quantity of floating paper currency, does not that tend to promote monopoly and ſcarcity, and dearneſs of all proviſions.†

Let it be recollected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has ſubſtituted paper, in ſhort, downright aſſignats, for gold. That circumſtance of itſelf is enough; but it is ſtill worſe, for the forgeries are ſo great, that I ſhall mention a fact which has come to my knowledge (if it be not true, let ſome Bank Director ſay ſo), that, at this time, no leſs than ſeventy bank clerks are occupied in the detection of forged notes all over England! Without doors what was the conſequence? Such was the depreciation of this currency in the public opinion,

 that

* Vide, War, proved to be the Cauſe of the Preſent Scarcity. By Robert Waithman.

† See Iniquity of Banking. Publiſhed by Jordan, Fleet-ſtreet.

that ſince the war every article of *food* and raiment has been doubled and trebled in price.

Furthermore, Sir, but for the war Britiſh guineas would have remained on Britiſh land; inſtead of which, we have ſent gold to Holland, Berlin Vienna (guaranteeing the payment of intereſt, by our good and grand ally, Auſtria), Bavaria, Naples, Sardinia, and, in ſhort, to all the petty German Princes; and now, God knows their uſe, we pay (what few men knew till I called for the paper on the ſubject lately) 60,000l. per ann. to foreign corps. I do not mean to ſay, that ſome of their regiments have not done their duty; quite the contrary. More of that ſubject preſently when I come to the Quiberon expedition; but I have heard the whole called (I never ſaid ſo myſelf) nothing more nor leſs than *Emigrant jobs*. When I recollect all this, and the manner in which ſome of our allies have treated us, I muſt conſider England as the common pack-horſe of Europe; and, as to the famous Briſſot, who was ſaid to have ſet fire to the four corners of the world, I muſt think the Chancellor of the Exchequer has imitated him, and may be called the Britiſh Briſſot.

Before I proceed further, Sir, there is a claſs of men mainly concerned in this war, and of whom I muſt ſpeak rather forcibly. I know not one man among them, and therefore can have no prejudices for or againſt them (I mean the *monied intereſt*); and here too, Sir, let me premiſe what I mean by the *monied intereſt*. I mean not the *fair, honeſt old Engliſh merchant*, whoſe liberal commerce is the ſource of our national wealth. I venerate that man and eſteem his character. But by the *monied intereſt*, Sir, I mean, in the ſtrong and emphatical words of the late great and immortal *Lord Chatham*.

" That

"That blood-ſucker of Government, which pretends to ſerve this or that Adminiſtration, and may be purchaſed by any Adminiſtration; that advances money to Government, and takes eſpecial care of its own emoluments. I include in this deſcription commiſſaries, jobbers, contractors, loan-mongers, clothiers, and remitters."

Now, Sir, let us look around this country ſince the war, let us look even at this *metropolis*, and ſee how the *monied intereſt* has thriven, and how the *landed intereſt* has periſhed; contractors and loan-mongers are the only perſons who have not been impoveriſhed by the war. Their "palaces have riſen like exhalations; their equipages ſhine in the ſtreets like meteors; and their diamonds vie at the public theatres with *Royalty* itſelf." Mark the contraſt! and I will put it to the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* himſelf, whether the ſtatement I draw be not true? How many venerable manſions are there now in this country, where general joy and known hoſpitality uſed to prevail, now blocked up, the carriages ſold, and every thing marking poverty itſelf. Nay, further, how many honeſt men, with as good blood boiling in their veins, as runs through the frame of the prudent loan-monger, are now, from the preſſure of taxation, hiding their diminiſhed heads in alleys, courts. and in priſons! How many miſerable yeomen and ſhopkeepers are now immured within the walls of a gaol! Here I muſt notice the praiſe worthy interference of an *honourable Baronet*, on the unjuſt ſeverity of late impriſonments, and ſay to the Miniſter in the words of *Churchill*—

"Go to the priſons, to the Fleet repair,
"And ask, with bluſhes ask, if Deſpard's there."

Wh

Why then, Sir, I do not think any honourable Gentleman will get up in this Houſe, and ſay, that evils of every kind do not flow from a ſtate of warfare!

I ſay war is life to the contractor, and death to the landed-man. War is life to the loan-jobber, and death to the peaſant; life to the jobber, and death to the mechanic; life to the remitter, and death to the ſhopkeeper; life to the clothier, and death to the labourer. The defection of an ally, animates the loan-jobber to new ſpeculations;—every battle and every Gazette goad them on to advance money to the Miniſter; whereby, to pay the intereſt thereon, he has already ſo wrung the ſubſtance of England, in carrying on his work of carnage, that he muſt draw the teeth, and rip up the bowels of the people. In the mean time, Mr. Speaker, while theſe horrible enormities exiſt, ſorry am I to ſay it, but it is a ſhocking fact, the people of England want *bread*; they have little elſe to ſubſiſt on, but what I foretold in my place on the 8th of May, they would have, if the war continued, "the bread of tears."* I ſee the effects of war on the common people, in the ſoldier's loaf, I ſee it in the ſoldier's beef; I ſee it in the mechanic and artiſan, and labourer and ſhopkeeper, torn as it were from his family, ſtarved into the ranks, as in the reign of *Robeſpierre* in France, and trained in barracks, not to cut corn, but to cut down the ———. Furthermore, Sir, every article of life is raiſed in price, and a ſyſtem of general taxation prevails; add to this, the enormous increaſe of the poor-rates ſince the war. I have a document here to prove beyond contradiction that they have increaſed full five

* Vide, the Subſtance of the Speech of Thomas Jones, Eſq on his motion for Peace, May 8, 1800, page 32.

millions. Will any man ſay that this is not owing to the war? Will any man have the hardihood to contradict the fact? But of all the neceſſaries of life which are raiſed, there is one which I hope the Miniſter will take ſome meaſure ſpeedily to lower, for the comfort of the poor, and I truſt one or two of the laſt heavy duties will be taken off; Sir, I allude to *ſalt*, and only ſay, that the word *gabelle*, as uſed in France, may be miſuſed in England.—Every man knows the odium attached to the word *gabelle*. Sir, the people of this country are taxed, to carry on this war, from head to foot; and after all, comes, what I muſt call, a downright and tremendous inquiſition, the income tax, invented, no doubt, to curb the pride, and cruſh the ſpirit, and to break the backs, necks, and hearts of all good Engliſhmen!

However, Sir, under all this, there is one circumſtance, which cannot fail to give comfort to every man, and that is, the great, the wonderful, and highly to be praiſed *patience* of the people, under all their ſufferings. But I hope the Miniſter will not conſtrue literally the old proverb, that "Silence gives conſent." It does not always; and in this caſe, I fear he has inflicted ſo deep a wound in their feelings, that they only brood over their wretchedneſs in deſpair. The minds of men are much changed; they begin to diſcover that his Majeſty's Miniſters are not above the common level of men; they cannot but ſee the weakneſs and incapacity of his Majeſty's Miniſters; and, as they muſt ſee that they cannot carry on the war with effect, or enter into negociations of peace with honour, they will ſoon cry aloud for other councils.

Sir, I cannot but repeat the praiſe-worthy *patience* of the People. And, as a Repreſentative in Parliament

liament, in the name of the whole Britiſh nation, in the name of the people of England, I take the liberty of aſking the Chancellor of the Exchequer (which I hope he will excuſe), not in any language of my own, for I have not words ſtrong enough at command; but in the phraſe of Cicero—"*Quoſque tandem abutere patientia noſtra, quum ad finem effrænata ſeſe jactabet audacia?*"

The next objection, a very ſtrong one too, is, that his Majeſty's Miniſters have gloried in the failure of the negotiation. Perhaps they will ſay, that they have ſince treated. A word or two on that ſubject preſently. Another moſt important act of their obſtinate incapacity is, their having in a moſt indiſcreet and intemperate manner refuſed to treat with the Firſt Conſul of France, in what they call, "a wiſe and dignified anſwer," but which every other perſon thinks "unwiſe and undignified." —Again, perhaps, they will ſay, that they have lately treated on that correſpondence, as far as Egypt was mentioned (which it was in every page almoſt). I have already made one motion this ſeſſion, and ſhall very ſoon, in the courſe of my ſpeech, refer again to it. The fact is, that, by having once ſo peremptorily refuſed to treat, they have let ſlip a glorious opportunity of making, perhaps, an advantageous and honourable peace, which may never again occur, at leaſt in ſo favourable a ſhape. The fact appears to be, that his Majeſty's Miniſters ſeem afraid of peace, for they full well know a day of reckoning for their great miſconduct muſt then arrive. They refuſe official letters, they refuſe enquiries into the ſtate of the nation, they refuſe to produce papers of any ſort almoſt; but, as I ſaid juſt now, men's minds are changed, and the nation will ſoon call for an explanation with one accord.

From

From the circumſtance of other material buſineſs having occurred (a debate on a bill to remedy the prevailing ſcarcity) early this evening, I hope Gentlemen will not think the hour too late for me to enter (which I muſt do) rather largely into a wide field of politics, and into an examination of all our treaties, when they were made, and when they were broken. I have all their dates here before me, from a minute and elaborate inveſtigation; and alſo of all our expeditions, and our preſent ſituation, as relatively connected with the other ſtates of Europe.

The firſt treaty I ſhall ſpeak of this day is the one of his Britannic Majeſty with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, ſigned at London, March 25, 1793, and another February 10, 1795.

On the late Empreſs of Ruſſia, I ſhall only obſerve, that I regret her death, inaſmuch as that I conceive, in this æra of the world, her firm and reſolute councils might have contributed to the welfare of the world; whereas the ſtrange, deſultory, moody madneſs of Paul I. (of whom I ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter) ſeems only to tend towards increaſing the ſufferings of Europe.

The ſecond treaty I come to is between his Britannic Majeſty and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſell, ſigned at Caſſell the 10th of April, 1793; a ſecond convention, ſigned the 23d of Auguſt 1793. Peace concluded between France and the Landgrave at Baſle, the 28th Auguſt 1795.

The third is a treaty between his Britannic Majeſty and the King of Sardinia, ſigned at London 25th April 1793. A ſuſpenſion of arms with France, between Bonaparte and Latour, 26th April 1796, and peace ſigned at Paris, May 15th 1796.

Then followed an alliance, October 24th, 1797.

The fourth treaty which occurs is the one with Spain, ſigned 25th May, 1793. Broke (as I agree with the Miniſter, and will borrow his own phraſe on the occaſion) with "*ſhameleſs atrocity*," and peace ſigned with France on the 22d July, 1795. I alſo agree with the Miniſter, that (as he obſerved lately) her crime carried with it its puniſhment; and her fleet captured by her ally (France) proclaims her diſgrace to the whole world. Moreover, after the concluſion of a peace, a treaty of alliance was ſigned by Perignon and the Prince of Peace, Auguſt 16, 1795.

The fifth is a treaty between his Britannic Majeſty and his Sicilian Majeſty, ſigned at Naples, July 12th, 1793. An armiſtice ſigned by Championet at Capua, 10th January 1796. Another at Breſcia, by Bonaparte, June 5th, 1796; and peace ſigned at Paris by De La Croix, October 10th, 1796.

The ſixth is a convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, ſigned at the camp before Mayence, July 14, 1793.

A treaty of peace with France was ſigned April 5th, 1795. This I conceive, and have ſaid to be a maſter-piece of political enormity and wickedneſs;* but having denounced it before on the 8th of May laſt, ſhall obſerve no further thereon.

Great ſtreſs, I muſt obſerve, ſeems to have been placed on this peace, as Rewbell ſpoke particularly on the occaſion, and it was printed and ſent to all parts of the Republic, and depoſited in the archives thereof. The line of demarcation was ſettled by another treaty, and has been ſince moſt narrowly and cautiouſly guarded by the King of Pruſſia.

The

* Vide, the Subſtance of the Speech of Thomas Jones, Eſq. on his motion for Peace, May 8, 1800, page 10.

The ſeventh convention which occurs is between his Britannic Majeſty and the Emperor of Germany, ſigned at London, Auguſt 30th, 1793. Another ſigned at Vienna, May 5th, 1795. Another May 20th, 1795.

The preliminaries of Leoben are confirmed by the fatal treaty of Campo Formio, 17th October 1797, (and ſecret articles), by Bonaparte. So much for the Emperor of Germany and his convention for the preſent.

The eighth, in the arrangement I have drawn out is between his Britannic Majeſty and the Margrave of Baden, ſigned at Carlſruhe, 21ſt Sept. 1793; an armiſtice took place with France July 25th, 1796; and peace was ſigned at Paris Auguſt 8th, 1796. Secret articles thereto; Auguſt 23d, 1796.

The ninth is the convention between his Britannic Majeſty and the Queen of Portugal, ſigned 26th Sept. 1793; and a treaty of peace was ſigned (for expedition ſake) with France, at the national palace, Auguſt 10th, 1796. This, however, was very ſoon indeed declared void, and ſhe is *now* dragged on in this crumbling confederacy.

The tenth is with Heſſe Darmſtadt, ſigned at London, Oct. 5th, 1793; a ſecond at Franckfort, 10th June, 1796. It is almoſt impoſſible to reaſon on the fluctuating politics of theſe petty German Princes.

The eleventh is a convention between his Britannic Majeſty, the King of Pruſſia; and the ſtates General of Holland, ſigned at the Hague, April 19, 1794. One alſo then ſigned between his Britannic Majeſty and the United Provinces.

In May, 1795 (a revolution having taken place in January, 1795), Citizen Haltz, as Preſident of the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the People

of

of Holland, makes a ſpeech, prefacing the treaty of peace and alliance with France,

The 12th is a treaty with the Duke of Brunſwick, ſigned at Brunſwick, 8th November, 1794.

On the 16th March, 1800, occurs the 13th, namely, a treaty between his Britannic Majeſty and the Elector of Bavaria.

Now laſt,* but not leaſt, comes forward the mighty *Paul* the Firſt, on the 10th February 1797; a treaty of navigation and commerce was ſigned at Peterſburgh in 1798. Another proviſional treaty was ſigned at Peterſburgh, endeavouring to animate the King of Pruſſia to re-enter into the conteſt, in vain. This not ſucceeding, another convention is ſigned at Peterſburgh, June 10, 1799. Now fatally comes out the mighty Emperor's object—his gigantic ambition. And here I muſt beg leave to aſk Miniſters how they could all along be ſo blind to the conduct and views of ſo powerful an Emperor? How can they think that the Ruſſian marine, ſupported and inſtructed in the Engliſh ſchool, will not hereafter try to ruin its miſtreſs? How could they think it poſſible, that a Sovereign, poſſeſſed of thirty millions of ſubjects, immenſe foreſts, fertile mines of every kind; in a word, every thing neceſſary for creating in a very ſhort time his marine, already very formidable in the Baltic, and abſolute miſtreſs of the Black Sea and the Caſpian; will limit his ambition to the bare poſſeſſion of a few ports in the Mediteranean, without deriving advantage from them at the expence of the commerce of England, and turning his attention to the two Indies, where as yet, of all the maritime powers, he has gained no footing? How can they think that a prince, like the Emperor of Ruſſia, will

* Vide Debrett's State Papers, as to all theſe Treaties.

will always prefer their ſubſidy to the ſource from which they derive their riches? Added to this, in June laſt, I ſtated in my place the probability of his being at the head of the armed northern neutrality, and attempting alſo the diſmemberment of the weak, inefficient, and crumbling Government of the Ottoman Porte, of which I ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter.

Furthermore, I have heard that he is in the act of ſending ſeveral tranſports with naval ſtores for the uſe of the Breſt fleet. Then I ſay, Sir, with theſe wretched alliances, theſe (I muſt call them) *ſwindling* defections, and with a northern armed neutrality, and a recent unſettled diſpute with Denmark, the Britiſh Miniſter calls England "*the Rallying Point of the Confederacy.*" The Miniſter ſays right, ſhe is the *rallying point of the confederacy*, not *for* but directly *againſt* her. *Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, waiting only for a good opportunity to declare againſt her. Will any Miniſter, can any Miniſter, ſay one word againſt this ſtatement?

The next point I come to is the *ſucceſs* of war. Great it has been, no doubt, by ſea; and if this war muſt go on, I now give formal notice, that "I ſhall make a motion relative to a *naval war.*" But, Sir, the moment the words ſucceſsful war eſcaped the lips of the War Miniſter, Mr. Dundas, on the firſt night of the Seſſion, I caught them, not intending to trouble the Houſe on that night, and challenged the Right Hon. Gentleman to diſpute that aſſertion of his, day after day, and hour after hour: I ſaid thoſe words eſcaped him; but when I recollect how ſtrenuouſly he then, and has ſince ſupported the poſition, I muſt of courſe think he means ſuch to be the *fact*.

I ſhall

I ſhall begin with the retreat from Dunkirk.—Does the Right Hon. Gentleman call the retreat from Dunkirk a *ſucceſs* of *war?*

As to the expedition to *Oſtend*, certainly as far as the accompliſhment of the object went, it was nobly done, and to the great credit of the officers and men employed; but the fact is, notwithſtanding, that 1500 or 1600 Engliſhmen were taken priſoners.

Now comes a tale of woe indeed; but I will not dwell on it, as I ſee a Right Hon. Gentleman, the Secretary at War (Mr. Windham) in his place oppoſite, and ſurely, when the word *Quiberon* is mentioned, every perſon muſt recollect that moſt fatal expedition, and I ſhould think the bloody ghoſts of the venerable Biſhop of Dol, and the gallant Sombreuil, muſt haunt the inmoſt receſſes of the War Office!

Now comes a *ſucceſs* indeed, it muſt be allowed to be ſuch, according to the Right Hon. Secretary of State's reaſoning on the ſucceſſes of the war, I mean, Sir, the famous human *nature* expedition to Holland! Was there a triumphal entry into Amſterdam? Was there not a diſgraceful *ranſom* of the Engliſh troops, and a moſt inglorions return?

Nay, furthermore, did not his Majeſty's Miniſters refuſe an inquiry into the buſineſs moſt peremptorily?

The next *ſucceſs* is the evacuation of Corſica.—Nothing, Sir, but a *ſtring of ſucceſſes* and *evacuations* now to come! Upon this Corſica, once called, and properly ſo, by an Hon. Member (Mr. Sheridan), a *barren bubble*, I will ſay a few words. It is ſingular, but this place is the birth-place of the great Bonaparte, who now foils (and there he has no great merit) the confined plans of his Majeſty's Miniſters; but

but had we kept that iſland, perhaps, the Firſt Conſul of France might have been a plain, honeſt, uſeful ſubject of Great Britain; though, I confeſs, I have my doubts whether ſo great and tranſcendant a genius as he poſſeſſes could ever have been reſtrained within the narrow, but happy confines of a limited Monarchy. He now guides the politics of Europe, and, in its convulſed and agitated ſtate,

"He rides in the whirlwind, and directs the ſtorm!"

He does more, he has organized and tranquiliſed France (and here I refer to his * expoſition of the ſituation of France, laid before the Legiſlative Body on the 1ſt Frimaire (Nov. 22), by the Counſellers of State Regnier Gouvion, St. Cyr, and Najac, Orators of the Government; and he is now approximating to his views many of the nations of the earth.

Imperium occans, framam ſuper aſtra levabit.

It may be ſaid, perhaps, that I go out of the way to pay a compliment of panegyric to Bonaparte —but the truth is, that there is no mentioning his name (though an enemy) without acknowledging his great powers of mind.

The next glorious ſucceſs, Sir, is the evacuation of St. Domingo:—the grave of thouſands of Engliſhmen, and the depot of millions of Britiſh guineas, now relinquiſhed to a black General (Touſſaint L'Overture) at whoſe very name (I know it) Jamaica trembles.

More ſucceſſes ſtill!—Now, Sir, we come to the glorious ones of laſt ſummer's campaign; and what are they? A feint at Belleiſle!—a feint at Ferrol!—a cruſade againſt the peſtilence of Cadiz! Here, Sir, are *triumphs* indeed!

"*Hi*

* Vide Courier, Saturday, Nov. 29, 1800.

"*Hi noſtri reditus, expectatique triumphi.*

In fact, Sir, the whole income-tax is gone in the laſt ſummer's fruitleſs expeditions, in what I once called "a voyage of diſcovery," but which on reflection, is little more than a common ſummer "trip to Margate."

Now, Sir, comes a ſubject, on which, I have ſo often and ſo lately received the indulgence of the Houſe; but I ſhall be very brief thereon this night, though it is not poſſible wholly to paſs it over in ſilence; I mean the '*evacuation of Egypt.*" Suffice it at preſent, juſt to ſtate, that the blundering incapacity, of his Majeſty's Miniſters in that affair has raiſed a new ſource of war, and of French power and ambition; and I muſt refer the Houſe here to Lord Keith's letter (here the Hon. Member read the letter).* And alſo, I muſt aſk the Right Hon. Secretary of State (Mr. Dundas), where is the ſecond treaty? which he ſaid, on the 23d of July laſt, was probably then ſigned? Is it to be found in the expedition, reported to have ſailed under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, amounting to 25,000 men? Is it to be found in the following words;—"The genius of France has ſaved the army of the Eaſt from the execution of a convention, which would have put it in the chains of England." Let the Right Hon. Secretary aſk the Directors of India, what they think of the buſineſs of Egypt. To ſhew the great importance the Firſt Conſul puts in this event; and to ſhew the original ideas of France, and their views on India, I could refer Gentlemen to Monge's ſpeech wherein he calls us the *tyrants of India*, Oct. 31, 1797;† then, to the proclamation of Mallartie;‡ then

* Vide Debrett's State Papers, Vol. IX. p. 326.
† Ditto, Vol. VII. p. 31.
‡ Ditto, Vol. VIII. p. 77.

then, to the treaty with Tippoo, the latter end of 1797;* and laſtly, to the correſpondence between Tippoo and Bonaparte, July 1798.†

Then after all, perhaps, I ſhall be told that every thing is ſafe—Tippoo Saib is no more; but, Sir, ſome avenging Prince may hereafter riſe from his aſhes. In ſhort, Sir, by the injudicious conduct of Miniſters, and by the letter of Lord Keith (never imputing any blame to him), God knows, when there will be,—"peace on earth, or good will amongſt men." But, Sir, I had almoſt forgotten, among our numerous defeats and misfortunes, ONE REAL CONQUEST ariſing from this *war*, I mean, Sir, the conqueſt of Ireland. His Majeſty's Miniſters call it an UNION; I call it a conqueſt, accompliſhed by the loweſt means, by ———

My language may be ſtrong, but the ſubject is moſt ſerious, and requires it fully. Would to God I could harrow up ſtronger expreſſions! I cannot think but with horror, how ſoon this Britiſh Parliament is to die. I think I ſee her now expiring in the keeneſt agony.

"§ Mark this year, and mark the night,
When *Thames* ſhall re-echo with affright,
The ſhrieks of death thro' *Stephen's* roof,
Shrieks of an agonizing *Parliament*!"

This is the only conqueſt his Majeſty's Miniſters have to boaſt of, and *they do boaſt of it*. But I ſee in it the abſolute and utter extinction, and complete annihilation of the liberties of Parliament; and of the Conſtitution, both of England and Ireland. Their final doom will be ratified and fixed on the day of the commencement of the Imperial Parliament. God help the country!

* Vide Debrett's State Papers, Vol. VIII. p. 23.
† Ditto, Vol. IX. p. 5.
§ Vide Gray's *Bard*.

After eight years of ineffectual and expenſive war, which is the melancholy ſtate of this country, brought on, I muſt ſay, by the wretched incapacity of his Majeſty's Miniſters. Auſtria, our only ally (except Portugal, which we keep in tow, as it were), perhaps at this moment treating for peace, and ranſoming its proud capital with Britiſh guineas. Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, arming againſt us. Ruſſia concerting with France to ſet aſide our right to ſearch neutral veſſels, and to diſpute our ſovereignty of the ſeas; to neither of which points am I prepared to give my conſent; nor am I at all diſpoſed to grant the pretenſions entertained againſt us by any means; nor do I know any circumſtance under which I can ever give up the baſis of our naval glory. I beg to ſtate that when I hinted the probability of an alliance between the Emperor Paul and the Firſt Conſul of France* (in May 8th laſt), *ſcorn* was the only anſwer given to the obſervation; but, now, Sir, the fact turns out to be very nearly, if not *poſitively* ſo; and I muſt refer the Houſe on this occaſion, to the paper called the Expoſition of the Situation of France, as far as relates to Ruſſia and England and Auſtria; a paper, which I fear cannot be refuted by the Miniſters, and which is of the moſt momentuous import indeed to England in its probable conſequences: "All nations who underſtand their rights will rally round theſe principles. The north will free itſelf from the tyranny which weighs upon its commerce and the ſeas, it will feel that our intereſts are the intereſts of mankind. Ruſſia particularly will remember its dignity, and the old relation which united it with France, it knows that France is a neceſſary counterpoiſe in the maritime

* Vide Subſtance of Mr. Jones's Speech, page 27.

time balance of the world." Auſtria will ceaſe to ſacrifice the repoſe of their Continent, to the ambition of the deſpots of the ſeas. Yet, in the preſent uncertainty, prudence preſcribes to France not to permit herſelf to be amuſed by an empty ſhew of negotiation; ſhe will ſupport her propoſitions by the force of her arms. The conduct of the government has ſhewn, that it has not carried to too great a height the pretenſions of the Republic, nor ſacrificed to the madneſs of ambition the intereſts of humanity.

The crimes of the war will all fall upon thoſe who are the real authors of them; upon thoſe governments which are ſo weak and ſo blinded, as to become ſubſervient to the mercantile deſigns of a ſingle nation, and to ſell its gold and its intrigues, the blood and the induſtry of the nations who buy them, and the freedom of the ſeas, which is the property of the whole human race. Furthermore, there ſeems a ſtrong diſpoſition on the part of this Emperor Paul, by ſending his fleet to Conſtantinople, to attempt ſomething againſt our good ally, and to plan the diſmemberment of the weak and inefficient Ottoman government *; which I at the ſame period, 8th of May, foretold. Pruſſia marching troops into and ſeizing Cuxhaven and Hamburgh; Denmark and Sweden ready to act with them. Amidſt all theſe misfortunes, occaſioned, I muſt be excuſed for ſaying, by the weak and miſerable councils of his Majeſty's Miniſters, famine rages in the land, and foreign ports are ſhut againſt us, and foreign powers refuſe us corn. All the powers of Europe are ſtarving us into ſubmiſſion, as we threatened (aided by all the powers of Europe) to ſtarve France into ſubmiſſion in 1793; and the war which was begun in the cauſe of morality and religion (which I ſupport, and, if it

* Vide Mr. Jones's motion, 18th of Nov. 1800.

ſhould unfortunately relapſe into that ſtate, I will again), a war of the plain queſtion, whether or not England ſhall continue her right to ſearch neutral veſſels? —I further add, Sir, that religion ſeems returning in France; and if I underſtood the Secretary at War rightly, on my aſking the queſtion as to the return of many of the emigrant clergy, he ſtated, that many had returned; and moreover, we know, that a correſpondence on the ſubject of re-eſtabliſhing the religion of France, has taken place between the Pope and the Firſt Conſul.

Miniſters ſay, "don't drive us to peace;" that is not the object I ſtand up for here this night; but Miniſters alſo ſay, when a *letter* * (Lord Keith's) is aſked for, why aſk for this *old* letter—the ſubject is nothing new—its worn out! When a motion is made (Tierney's) for a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the nation, they ſay, what has a long hiſtory of the war in 1761, on the finances, or the ſtate of the country, to do with the preſent ſtate of affairs? When an hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Robſon) riſing to reply on a moſt important motion, brought forward by him on a ſubject of reducing the conſumption of oats by the cavalry, *they count the Houſe.*† When a motion for a ſeperate peace is made (*vide* Mr. Sheridan's motion), that cannot be liſtened to; the true plan ſhould be to move at once for a diſmiſſal of his Majeſty's Miniſters. That's my intention, Sir, this night; and I take them only at their word, let there be a change in his Majeſty's Councils, and we drive the enemy to peace.

As it appears that this terrible war cannot be ſettled by argument, I do not wiſh to recommend, God knows,

* Vide Journals.

knows, any thing that has the leaſt tendency to a ludicrous propoſition; but I cannot forget having read how a long and tedious war was once ſettled between the Romans and Albans—Tullius and Mettus Fuffetius were to have ſettled it by a ſingle combat; one declined however. Now, Sir, as it does appear the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Bonaparte are the obſtacles to peace, they might as well decide this war thus; but as one of *them* might decline; then I ſhould recommend a tribe of Malta and a tribe of Lodi (new Peers and new made Baronets are hardly of ſufficient importance) to immitate the Horatii and Curiatii, and finiſh this work of blood.

But, Sir, finally, let us conſider our unfortunate and deſperate ſituation, and apply the true and only remedy—diſmiſs his Majeſty's Miniſters. They ride on the popularity of our good King—they ride on it, and injure it by their councils to promote the common carnage of the world—there they ſit, not a tribe of Lodi, but a tribe of Mollocks—beſmeared with human blood and human ſacrifice, they have deluged the world with blood, and brutalized mankind. Under, their further guidance, ſo help me God! I fear Turkey itſelf will become a perfect Paradiſe to Old England—they will make an "Heaven an Hell."

May God avert—a famine!

May God avert—a revolution!

Sir, I dread them without a change of Councils. May the King live for ever!

I now move—

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, imploring his Majeſty that, taking it into his

his Royal conſideration the ſufferings of his loyal and affectionate ſubjects, he will be graciouſly pleaſed no longer to liſten to the Councils of his preſent Miniſters; who, by their profuſion and extravagance, have brought their country to the brink of famine and ruin; and who, by their incapacity, have ſhewn themſelves unequal to conduct the war with effect, or enter into negotiations of peace with honour."

THE END.

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J. DAVENPORT, Printer,
George's Court, St. John's Gate.